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true Jacobin doctrine, which required individuals to regulate their conduct, not by their own proper interest and convenience, but according to some speculative principles. In a well-regulated state, the proper interest of individuals is inseparable from that of the government, and it is the duty of Government to take care to avoid any system or state of things in which individuals, pursuing their own interest, and acting legally, shall have the appearance of acting at variance with the public interest. If the notes of the Bank of England are not depreciated in value, and if, in fact, there is no difference between paper and gold, the preference given to the latter will be an idle preference, of no public inconvenience, because it will not be followed. If the value of the Bank paper is really at par, it is not in the power of any individual to alter the fact; and any attempt to do so would be despised as it deserved; but if, on the contrary, the Bank paper is greatly inferior in value to gold coin and bullion, it is highly meritorious to expose and resist a system, through which the whole community is impoverished and defrauded.

I must desire to be informed by what new rule, by what new order of things, an individual is bound to account in Parliament for his conduct in the management of his private affairs: if he has claimed his right only, it is his by law; and if he has demanded more than his right, the poorest man in the country may have redress against him.

[To be concluded in our next.]

At a Meeting of the Union, for Parliamentary Reform according to the Constitution, London, 10th June, 1812—

Edward Bolton Clive, Esq. in the Chair.

Resolved, That the Basis or Constitu-

tion of this UNION is expressed in the three following propositions:—

1st. REPRESENTATION—"the happiest discovery of political wisdom," is the vital principle of the English Constitution, inasmuch as it is THAT ALONE which, in a state too extensive for personal legislation, constitutes POLITICAL LIBERTY.

2d. POLITICAL LIBERTY, being a common right, REPRESENTATION, co-extensive with direct TAXATION, ought, with all practicable equality, to be fairly and honestly distributed throughout the community; the facility of which cannot be denied.

3d. The Constitutional duration of a Parliament cannot exceed ONE YEAR.

Resolved, That towards the current expences of this UNION, each Member shall pay only one guinea a year.

Resolved, That no person holding a Pension, or Place of Profit under the Crown, shall be a Member of this UNION.

At a Meeting on the 17th, Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. M.P. in the Chair.

Resolved Unanimously, That for the APPEAL to the NATION which has been read, the Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Author.

Resolved, That a Subscription be now opened, in aid of the original funds, for enabling the UNION to extend its services in the cause of Parliamentary Reform according to the Constitution, by means of the PRESS.

Adjourned to Wednesday, 24th of this instant.

[For the Resolutions of the Aggregate Meeting of the Catholics in Dublin, see the Public Occurrences, at the close of the Retrospect.]

MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

IN a period of external and domestic danger, such as perhaps never occurred in any period of its history, Great Britain has continued for weeks without any efficient government. During this time, how

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much might have been accomplished, how much might have been avoided? With enemies, who do not allow a single minute to be unemployed; with whom, the whole day, and often the whole night too,

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is pressed into service; while America is busied in her hostile bills, in her loans, and her equipments; and while Napoleon is on his march to Petersburg, we are wasting weeks in a sort of miniature war of the cabinet, our officers of state moving to and fro on a political chess-board, while the continents of Europe and America are occupied with military preparation.

One would conclude, that the management of an Empire was accounted a mere amusement, suited to an hour of relaxation, that might be laid down or taken up at pleasure, but that the great business, the grand affair, was the management of a House of Commons. *Hic labor, hoc opus.* It is not what a large train of field or battering artillery may have arrived from Washington, but how many votes we shall be able to enter down in our muster-roll of party; it is not the campaign about to begin on the Vistula, but the parliamentary campaign, the inspecting and recruiting services within the house, the forming and deploying of columns there, the rally of men about to desert, the rousing of men dead asleep, with all the circumstances of a long and desperate *debate*; these are the paramount objects that interest and agitate the minds of statesmen in place, and statesmen that would be in place. Have they leisure, at any time, have they had leisure, particularly during this time, to attend to what is passing on the continents of Europe and America?

The people sit spectators of the shifting scene. They contemplate the strange bustle upon the stage, the various entrances and exits, the pelotons of party forming and dissolving, the mysteries, the intrigues, the machinations, the messages carried to and fro, the agents employed to serve a purpose, the voice of the prompter sometimes heard behind

the curtain: they look on, and having paid for the amusement, they seem to enjoy it. Placed in our pigeon-hole, we cannot help concluding, that the whole performance exhibits a struggle between secret and sinister influence on the one side, and responsible and accountable authority on the other; in other words, a wrestle between the powers of light and those of darkness.

The ostensible causes assigned for the anarchy of administration, which has taken place in the course of this month, are the Catholic question, the management of the war in the Peninsula, and the power of removing certain officers of the household, who are supposed to counteract the responsible advisers of the crown. Lord Wellesley in the first instance, and Lord Moira after him, have both failed in forming a cabinet, united in opinion upon all these leading points. Lords Grey and Grenville are not disposed to accept of even a moiety of power in the cabinet, at the sacrifice of their influence in the country, and the principles of their party in respect to these particulars above-mentioned. But still their opposition, general as it may appear, converges to one particular point.

Without responsibility, there can be no constitutional government. It is the guardian-angel of the British government. Without this security, or an *opinion* of this security, (for we sigh to say how often *indemnity* has nullified *responsibility*,) the partition is thin, indeed, which divides limited and absolute monarchy. There may be confessors, besides those in Catholic governments. There may be other familiars, beside those of the Inquisition. Thus all the measures of intolerance, may be strengthened by the never-ceasing *whisper*, which represents the church of England as the main-stay of the monarchy.

The sad truth seems to be, that CONFIDENCE, the cement of personal and public union, is dissolved. Confidence, the soul of private friendship, and the grand reconciler of political misunderstandings, without which all the complimentary parade of "frankness, and honour, and sincerity," only serve as a tag to the tail of an official letter; *Confidence*, we repeat it, is lost in the quarter where it is of most value; and confidence, once lost, how shall it ever be regained?

Hence the difficulty of getting men into a ministerial arrangement, from their well-grounded suspicion, of being made *use of* only in a temporary difficulty, and to be dismissed when they have served a turn. They may not know the moment in which the spirit of *family favouritism* will force them to throw up their offices in disgust. Their persons may fill seats in the cabinet, but their principles must be left at the door: political principles, and private friendships, conscience, conviction, moral and personal attachments to be abandoned, and thus themselves to become, in the council, mere cyphers, for the purpose of giving a certain significance and value to others of downright contrary principles. It is, on the whole, a struggle between a cabinet-council, and a closet-council; the one responsible and warranted by the acknowledged practice of the constitution, the other secret, and, when challenged, vanishing like a spectre.

It is at such critical conjunctures, when men of superior minds become necessary for the welfare, nay the salvation of a state. We mean, men, or a single man, of that *primary* weight and importance, which might be well able to call the secondary *satellites* of office around him, make them move at their proper distances,

circulate in their allotted order, and unite a whole ministry—in himself. We designate such a man as might not only put inferior men, and lesser things, in their proper place, but even, in the highest department, by that commanding influence, which high talents, joined to high integrity, never fail to communicate, might correct indecision, prevent versatility, and fix the tremulous quicksilver of state. We believe, that mere *professional* men will never obtain this high, and, at critical times, we may say, this happy dictatorial authority, actuated as a profession always is, by the habits, and limited views incident to a vocation, which, as it were, municipalize the mind, and incapacitate it from the enlarged and prospective views of a philosopher-statesman, who can view not only the world through Britain, but Britain through the world. The man of profession may preside in the *first* court of law, in the *first* House of Parliament, and keep the conscience of the *first* magistrate, yet with all this judiciary, legislative, and executive power, concentrated in an individual, he may turn out a sorry statesman, and a persevering obstacle to an *united* and *efficient* administration, not a mere *mosaic* cabinet, but a concordant council.

The Prince Régent was addressed by the House of Commons, praying him to form a stronger and more efficient administration. Lord Wellesley, in consequence, by the Prince's command, negotiated for this purpose, but in vain, having, by a publication of his sentiments respecting the incapability of Mr. Perceval, as chief-minister, forfeited the confidence of the administration in which *he* bore the sway; and notwithstanding Lords Grey and Grenville were willing to meet the propositions of union, with the complete

abandonment of all personal feelings and considerations. Lord Moira was then commissioned by the Prince to assure Lords Grey and Grenville, that his Royal Highness had come to a determination to change the whole system on which the government had been carried on, and that two important features of his future administration were to be, concession to the Catholics, and the repeal of the Orders of Council. This happened on the 6th inst. On Monday the 8th June, his Royal Highness was pleased to appoint to the office of First Minister, and to authorize to form the whole of the government, the Earl of Liverpool, who, with every one of his colleagues, present and future, is irrevocably pledged *against* Catholic concession, and *against* the repeal of the Orders in Council. The late ministers, and their system, are thus re-established, and the laws affecting the Catholics are not even to be taken into consideration in the *cabinet*, although it appears, that the individual members, and the friends of government, are, in *parliament*, permitted to exercise their free judgment, in voting upon this question, when it should again come on.

It must be acknowledged that among all these parties exhibiting their different phases in the political horizon, there is not one which possesses the full confidence of the people. When anarchy and confusion take place, and the different parts of the constitution counteract each other, so that the state machine is likely to stand still, then, the *confidence of the people*, and the necessity of that confidence plays upon the lips of political parties. As, at the eve of a general election, all are humble servants of the people. The proudest of the Popes used to subscribe himself "the minor of the meanest;" and the proudest of our

peers may condescend to the superlativeness of humility on particular occasions.

Even that party which most approximates to the public opinion, in all the great points of public policy, have a penuriousness adhering to their profession of liberality, which contracts and contaminates. *Economy* is the word of the party, if not of the individuals which compose it. Economy in war, economy in emancipation, economy *in reform*. Negotiation with their countrymen, limitation in military expenditure, and *parsimonious* reform are the great features of their policy. We have already said, that in the thermometer of Irish feeling, Mr. Ponsonby himself rises but to a warmth marked *Tepid*. Ever since, and perhaps, *before* the Union, his Irish feelings have merged in his English connexions. The plain oak of his sound and solid understanding is finereed with professional forms, habits, and expectancies. He appears to us to have been always a partizan rather than a patriot, the representative of a family connexion, rather than of the people. Indeed the party itself seems pretty much like a magnet; at one end, attracting; and at the other, repelling popularity.

For our parts, travelling no zig-zag line on the chart of the constitution, too low or too high, as we are, for place, pension, or expectancy of either, we shall not cease to advocate the state expediency of perfect and gratuitous emancipation, uncompensated and uncompensable, unclogged by the exaction of any equivalent, onerous to their public feelings, to their private feelings, and perhaps inconsistent with the religious obligations of the Catholic community. We think that the war upon the continent should be carried on with the utmost vigour

possible: or, as we much rather wish, ought to be abandoned altogether, and the resources of the Empire concentrated on our own shores, no longer allured by alliances, and the cats-paw of coalitions. And, lastly, we are for such a wholesome reform in the Commons-House as will regain it the full confidence of the people, and give it that authoritative and practical check and controul which is warranted by the theory of the constitution, and which the calamities of the times so urgently demand.

These calamities are, at length, the most powerful instructors, and, we trust, the lesson will not be too late. Adversity, that great tamer of the human breast, will bring in her train, Charity, and Mercy, and Justice, and Wisdom; and the terrors of the time, "Despair, and fell disease, and ghastly poverty, with screaming horrors funeral cry," have, it is likely, wrought a change in that system which has, for such a number of years, been the actuating principle of public measures; however, the persons composing the cabinet might, like "Ombres Chinoises," appear and disappear. When Charles III. of Spain once granted his confidence, neither incapacity nor want of success could induce him to withdraw it. His ministers were almost certain of dying in office, for his pride or his indolence could never be brought to such an acknowledgment, that his confidence could be so misplaced. Now, in other kingdoms, the measures may be equally permanent, though the administrators may keep up a constant rotation.

The system is the perpetual *Prince Minister*. The cabinets are only the successive bearers of the Palanquin, curtained round from the eyes of the vulgar. Those, who are proud to *undergo* office, or who seek for the hire of performing it, submit

their heads, and their shoulders, to the task, and then pop their heads out, for others who pop into their places—and so from stage to stage, from lustrum to lustrum, the *sedentary* system keeps moving on. But adversity comes, like the samiel, or sirocco, from the desert. The bearers must lay down the burthen: they fall flat on their faces; the Palanquin is overturned; the curtains fly open; and to the astonishment of the vulgar, nothing is found in its recess, but an empty chair.

It is, in this manner, that the ministry (a new arrangement of the same materials;) will find it a matter of necessity, from the pressure of circumstances, to change the entire system as quickly as such circumstances will require: yet so slowly and gradually, as may not give the disgraceful *appearance* of adopting the political principles of opposition. Lord Sidmouth the now Minister for the home department, will, doubtless, perform the duties of his office, and keeping his *pledges* in the left hand, the *sinister* hand, behind his back, will, with the right hand, the hand of fellowship, bring into the cabinet in the first instance, the heads of a bill for Catholic emancipation. Lord Castlereagh, with the most perfect ease, and unembarrassed amenity of manner, will squeeze an *orange* into the cup of conciliation, and consecrate it with the invocation of love and friendship. Lords Grey and Grenville will be outed in their persons, and introduced in their principles; an alternative with which they must now be satisfied, having, as we think, been fairly outwitted in the manœuvres of negotiation.

Lord Moira put himself into the *Prince's place*, just at the very nick of time; and acted so well, that with full powers and perfect understanding upon great points, yet, by

his personal negative on the question relative to the household, (which has now become another power in that constitution, where even a cabinet council was, once, not to be recognized,) he completely stopt all negotiation, and thus satisfied the most ardent desires of whomsoever it might be that wished for such an event. This most honourable man, this Chevalier "sans peur et sans reproche," this most useful of servants, who can preserve his master's honour, and make it practicable to yield perfectly to the address of the House of Commons for an efficient ministry, and yet still preserves the *very same* ministry; who can thus willingly take upon himself alone, the onus of *premeditated* miscarriage; and, perhaps, unconsciously to himself, supply the means of animating afresh the suspended life of the all but drowned ministry, certainly this noble Lord deserves the gratitude of a Prince, and the Order of the Garter. Certainly he ought to be canonized as the saving Saint of the new-era.

Public measures, as we have ventured to prophesy, will, by necessity, *and only by necessity*, take a new cast, although the principal actors be the same. The cabinet chess-board suffers only a transposition of pieces into pawns, and pawns into pieces. But the plan of the game may suffer alteration. Not merely the mockery of a new era, but the reality, may supervene, while the *personal* repugnance against, and repulsion to early friends, and obstinate proud advisers, (the Grenville *end* of the Magnet,) is thus, by the instrumentality of "our Chevalier Bayard," consulted and deferred to. *They* shall not visit the *eyes* nor the *ears*, however they may occupy a dream, or rise up as the phantoms of remembrance. The personal animosity, and the public

exigency, shall both be satisfied, and Lords Grey and Grenville will take care to get first into the Cabinet, without asking questions upon the stairs.

Perhaps, indeed, this party, (for at best it can be considered in no other light, while-ever it evades, as it always has done, the question of reform.) this junta of Borough influence, and patriotic intention, ought, prudentially, to have remained quiet with the agreement, (although *not ratified by the Prince*,) on the leading points, and trusted to the necessity of affairs, for securing to them, ultimately, the controul of the cabinet, and perhaps the confidence of the executive power. They have been out-generalled, perhaps, by too great confidence in themselves, and the parliamentary influence of their borough-monger power. Let them look at length to the source of all rightful power—the people, and let that people still recollect, in the words of Sheridan, illustrious even under eclipse, "it is upon their vigilance or supineness in the exercise of *their own* duties, not upon the construction or professions of *any* administration, on which depends the salvation or perdition of these countries." Yes! most true it is, that whenever the people do not possess an adequate share in the promulgation of laws, they are constantly *overlooked*, if not oppressed, by their legislators. We incline to the party of the opposition, but we cannot help observing what a poor pretension to public favour it is, to be greatly preferred to a Liverpool, a Sidmouth, a Castlereagh, or a Canning. The public spirit of the first set is attachment to their party: the second, have no country—but the court.

Before speaking of the Catholics in this Retrospect, we must notice a remarkable expression used by Lord

Castlereagh in the House, on the 23d ult. He said, "he would be a base and ungrateful man, if he were not readily to acknowledge that the Catholics had materially assisted in accomplishing the measure of an Union." And Sir John Newport, in his reply, said, "he knew that engagements had been entered into, between the noble Lord, and the Catholic body." We declare that we are sick of the term "pledges;" of the personal and public prostitution that has been made of that word since the famous Grand-Jury pledge of lives and fortunes. But this we know, and this we are bound in duty to our ever dear country to declare, that, if the Catholics, or any part of them, did assist materially in accomplishing the Union, on account of some prospect of success in their own question, they sold their country. We care not who they are, by what title or description they are addressed; they did what they had not either right or power to do. They sold the independence of their native land. And they are, hereby, publicly called upon to say what was this treaty, this exchange of pledges by which they are said to have bartered away the glories of Ireland, and the golden hopes of posterity. If they *did do* this, let them not dare to accuse the corruption of Parliament, nor the apathy of a people, from whom they have taken the best of blessings. To stand before a noble Lord, like bidders for a loan, and to say, Here is our country; we lay down Ireland on condition of a prospect of emancipation, of a parliamentary bounty to the Catholic *portion* of the people. —O! it cannot have been. The agent of royal bounties; the provider for Presbyterian clergy; the proposer of a provision for the Catholic clergy in the Cabinet, must have been mistaken in what he has assert-

ed of the Catholics: (*if so*) not Catholics of Ireland.

An aggregate meeting of Catholics assembled on the 18th. Their delegates reported, that they were not admitted to an audience of the Prince Regent, and therefore their address was delivered without having received an answer. They complained of the calumnies which pursued their petition, and the secret and sinister influence exerted against them. The meeting resolved on petitions to parliament, for the total and *unconditional* repeal of all their civil disabilities, ready, as they always are, to give the *securities* of their allegiance, and of their affections; and then agreed to call another aggregate meeting in a fortnight from that day.

It is not a matter of surprise that the Catholic delegates did not obtain any answer from the first Magistrate, of the Empire, since the published correspondence has ascertained, through the most manly and truly noble avowal of Lord Grey, (in his letter to Lord Moira, marked C) "that the most distinct and authentic pledges had been given to them (the Catholics,) of the Prince's wish to relieve them from the disabilities of which they complained. If, in consequence, the Prince feels a strong personal objection to me," adds the truly patriotic nobleman, "I can only repeat, that I am perfectly ready to stand out of the way." In this letter, as we think, lies the whole secret of the negotiation, and its failure, in which, however, all parties may disclaim the charge of personal animosities, we fear Lord Wellesley had too solid grounds for making use of his strong expressions. If a Prince denies having "any predilections," he ought not to have rejections. If the *Regent* thinks it his duty to forget the benevolences of the *Prince*

of *Wales*, let him also dismiss the enmities. If he is to stand in the apathy of abstract authority, at the same time that he expels from his heart its early attachments, let him discard the calamitous prejudices of an adopted conscience. Equally-impassive to personal love or hatred, let the Father of this great family on earth, like his Father, who is in Heaven, look down with equal benignity on all portions of that family, who endeavour to please him by good conduct and zeal in his service. A Prince ought to be no partizan. Granted. Nothing should intercept between him and his whole people. The female Indian, when attempted to be seduced, answered, "He who is before my eyes prevents me seeing you." In like manner, the patriot Prince is wedded, and sworn to the people. The people kept constantly before his eyes, must save him from base intrigues, and vile seduction.

What may be the *conditions* or securities on granting emancipation (as if we were exacting some promise from a criminal before we took off his fetters) it is for the administration, when they deign to consider the subject, to say; not for the Catholics, who have *already* considered it. They have already given their oaths, and paid the purchase money—of their blood. What *more* is required? What *more* oaths, what *more* pledges, what *more* blood to be shed, how many *more* lives will be wanting to fill up the market-measure of loyalty? "But we must have," says Mr. Canning, pendulating as he does between ministry and opposition, "we wish for such a system of concession granted, and *security* given in return, as will prevent discontent and dissatisfaction to be not extinguished, but merely transferred from one portion of the

people, from one part of the empire to another."

To know whether this will be really the case, *take the sense* of the people. Let not party or person speak for the people, in this great affair, but let the people speak for themselves, through the medium of a fair and faithful representation. If, *then*, the people should say, we shall take Ireland, but not Irishmen; we shall reject the Catholics, but make use of their country; we shall unite with the flocks and herds, and grain, and mines, and minerals, and every thing, but the men of the country. Why, in that case, we know what should be our answer, and we believe it to be what the Catholics would answer. But it is time, a long time, we pray God, before this answer will be given. Let Englishmen remember, that even in Spain, the most Catholic country in Europe, defiance was bid to the court of Rome, whenever she would encroach on the rights of the temporal authority. And, in the mean time, (we trust a very short time,) let the Catholic of Ireland stand, in the erect attitude of man, ready to bow his neck to gratitude, but never to bondage!

Must it always happen, that nations never will act generously to one another, not even to the most nearly related country, but through *compulsion*. That they will never gain the credit of an enlightened liberality, but hesitate and procrastinate, until they be pressed into their duty, and their interest, when it becomes the effect of inevitable necessity. In the course of a year, a fall in the official value of exports to the amount of ten millions. Taxes, within the same period, fallen three millions, and our expenditure increased to the amount of five millions. The war in the Peninsula

costing 20 millions per annum, and four millions of our own people wanting relief, not by occasional subscription, but permanent employment. War about to be declared by America, which more than probably has entered into a secret treaty, offensive, defensive, and commercial, with France. Are these the cogent reasons to be held out to the world, and to the Catholics themselves, as the real agents of Catholic emancipation? Are the English only just and merciful under the "peine forte et dure" of public calamity; and is history to record, that emancipation was as unwillingly wrested from them, as Magna Charta from John, or the petition of right from Charles, with the same suspicion of insincerity, and the same prospect of subsequent retraction. O! for the honour of human nature, hasten to do good, for the sake of good; and do not, like the miser at the moment perhaps of dissolution, be calculating the profit and loss of a just action, working the question of emancipation, like the rule of three.

It is our firm belief, that CHARACTER is as important a consideration to a nation, as to an individual; and character is often judged of abroad, by the way the nation has conducted itself at home. Every thing cannot be gained by subsidies. Were the character of England higher on the continent, as a liberal and magnanimous, not a haughty monopolizing power, her influence would be substantially greater, perhaps, than that derived from the magnitude of her maritime artillery. The principle of the mercantile system has been too much the rule of general policy. The Bank and the Ministry often change places. The latter becomes director-general of commerce, by means of licences, and the former, by an unlimited issue of paper, becomes the govern-

ment. The business of finance connects both into one body, and one spirit. He is the prime of Prime-ministers who can lay most burthens most judiciously on the people, like those who by loading every muscle with what it is able to bear, supports an extraordinary weight by the careful distribution. But all this is little to the moral or public character, as little as the feats of the English Samson, or the fists of the Jew Mendoza. He would, in our minds, be the first of ministers, and of men, who would redeem the British character abroad and at home, and thus establish her unquestioned dominion.

At a late annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in London, after a great deal of self-compliment, and, we dare say, just congratulation on the success and extension of this excellent institution, we meet with the Bishop of Kildare, (Lindsay, a Scotchman and brother-in-law of Earl Hardwicke, in whose viceroyalty he was made an Irish Bishop;) stating, among other things, the want and acceptability of the Scriptures, ("according to the authorised version,") not only among the Protestants, but also among the Roman Catholics of Ireland. He asserted, that the ignorance which prevailed in that country, on the subject of religion, was not to be conceived; that the doctrine of the reformation was utterly unknown in many parts of it. We suppose his Lordship had just returned from a religious tour through that country; and he then concluded by describing, as the report says, "in a very pious, simple, and feeling manner, the recent accession of a professor of Maynooth to the Protestant Established Church," an example certainly to be noticed, as being singular and rare, even with all worldly encouragement.

We cannot but notice the zeal of the Society in promoting the printing of the Scriptures in the Swedish, Lapponian, and Fennish languages. A missionary is even to be sent to Shiraz in Persia, to effect a pure Persian translation! How odd it would appear in the eyes of the Bible Society, if some Persians were to be recommended to Mr. Wilberforce and the Bishop of Kildare, to facilitate the translation and distribution of the Zenda Vesta in these countries. "Ah!" they would answer, "it will not sell." As well, at least, as your bibles are like to do in Persia.

But why exempt *Ireland* from this religious bounty, possessing, as you do, a net income of nearly £44 000, with a distribution of 35,000 bibles, and 70,000 testaments. We are, the Society will answer, willing to distribute the Scriptures, provided they be "*according to the authorised version*." That is, we will distribute the Protestant version among the Catholics, though we should protest against a distribution of the Catholic translation among Protestants. Do to others as you wish they should do unto you. Authorize a translation of the bible into the Irish language, according to the Catholic version; distribute it among the Catholic priests, and say, Divide this BREAD OF LIFE among your flocks: the great ones, and the little ones; and He who had compassion on the multitude, will multiply your gift with his blessing. We know the differences in these translations are most trifling when compared with the supreme excellencies in which they both agree. The Catholics object to our version, and to the distribution of what, *so far*, would Protestantize their people. We would object in the same way to a distribution of that version which might have a tendency to mislead the Protestant

into the Catholic doctrine. We, (that is,) speaking as Bishops; for we, in our proper persons, would rather say to the mass of our countrymen, had we the gift of the Irish tongue, Here is the BIBLE—Here is the GOOD BOOK, in your *own* language, translated according to the belief of your *own* church. Take the precious gift. Break it among your thousands. We Protestants, say to you Catholics, let us unite as *Christians*. Read, with us, the book that contains the words and works of Christ, and where you have difficulties, recur to the authority you think best for removing them, either to the elucidation of your pastors, or to your own patient search after truth, and comparison with the context and character of the whole work. TAKE THE BOOK.

There is, we lament to say it, a missionary zeal, which approaches to intolerance. The Church of England, called, we believe deservedly, the most humane of churches, would, nevertheless, root out every other form of religion, were it in her power. Her measures would be milder, than by rope or stake; and therefore, perhaps more effectual. Every Bishop, in more than one sense, looks to *his own translation*. Let us inform Bishop Lindsay, that the Bible Society is not for the purpose of propagating the doctrines of the reformation, but to withstand the spread of infidelity; not to convert into the Church of England, but to retain in the Church of Christ. For this, it is, that copies of the bible and testament are distributed, and let us here hint, that they should not be distributed at *too cheap* a rate. They will be more prized for having a value, even in *money*. We liked to see the old Family Bible rimmed and cornered with silver, as if the purchaser had been willing to associate whatever was most

valuable and precious on earth, and from heaven. We have seen instances of *gratuitous* distribution not being treated with proper respect, and an undervaluing may produce an ill effect in vulgar minds. We would not have religion, like a highly adorned and illuminated missal, secreted from the common people, but on stated occasions; nor would we have the venerated volume so carelessly and improvidently scattered, as to be deemed among things most common.

We trust that there may be some use in noticing an instance where the execution of the law was frustrated lately, in Scotland, for a time, not by the escape or rescue of the convict, but by the fault of the officer of the law, in not providing a rope strong enough to suspend the unhappy criminal. Several instances of this shameful neglect occur every year. The law should not be suffered to countenance torture, or to inflict a double death. In Spain, the title of the Chief-Justice is, "Minister of *Mercy* and Justice." In Dublin, when such an instance not long ago occurred, it was passed over as merely an unlucky accident, though accompanied with circumstances shocking to every feeling of humanity. How many of these evils might be remedied by some municipal attention! Might not every Sheriff be obliged to provide a silk-rope of such texture as might be used, with certainty of effecting its purpose; and would not grand-juries, who grant above £600,000 annually, be able to spare a small sum for ensuring a merciful execution of the law? We could wish, that the Honourable Arthur Hodges had made some atonement for his savage cruelty to his slaves, or that some public defaulter would compound with his conscience, by leaving a sum of money to be appropri-

ated for the purchase of those means of satisfying the intendment of law, and making the punishment of death more lenient than it often turns out to be, by the very culpable neglect of the proper officer of justice.

As related to the subject of torture, we must here notice the outrage committed by the officer commanding the schooner *Barbara*, in impressing a number of men in passenger ships, going to America, with circumstances of great inhumanity. The outrage was committed in Lough Foyle, near to the city of Derry; but had the officer possessed prudence enough to delay his capture until the ships had got into the *Ocean*, we should probably have never heard more of the matter, until it came resounding in our ears from the coast of America. As it is, the affair, of necessity, is put into investigation, the impressed men are released, but in the familiar epistle of John Wilson Croker, Secretary of the Admiralty, there is no hint of any indemnification to the sufferers, or any punishment of the offender, who will probably be rebuked for his hastiness, and removed to some other station. The merchants of Derry complain, but in so feeble a tone, and so much in their usual spirit of sycophancy, that but little effect can be expected from their interference. They speak with all *bienséance*, as men quite at their ease, and feeling no strong indignant sensations; and for this cold apathetic conduct, they are applauded by their parliamentary representative, Sir George Hill. More strong language would have better become the occasion, and manifested their sympathy with the sufferers, who, if they had possessed the opportunity, would have doubtless published their complaints in a bolder strain.

Humanity triumphs in America.

The Congress have just passed an act, putting a total stop to the barbarous practice of flogging in the American army. They have substituted for the torture of the lash, stoppage of pay, confinement, and deprivations of part of the rations allowed. 'Tis well.—These are honourable inducements to emigrants, who seek for support by crossing the ocean, who wish to cultivate the blessings of chearful existence, and migrate, like the birds, leaving those behind, who linger in supine indolence, or have their faculties suspended in a state of torpidity. 'Tis well.—But humanity looks out, with anxiety, for a still nobler triumph. There is said, by Humboldt, to be a million of slaves in the United States, one-sixth of the whole population. We suppose the number to be greatly reduced since he wrote, but still there is—a *number*. You have reformed the evil in part, O! reform it altogether. Present not a shameful contrast to New Spain, in your very neighbourhood, where the number of slaves, either Africans or of a mixed race, is almost nothing; where not above 40,000 are employed in the mines, and these are—*Free* labourers, who may serve in what mine they chuse, as long as they choose, and then quit it for another! The Spaniards and Portuguese, by their mildness and humanity to their slaves, have, in some measure, expiated the crimes and cruelties of their fore-fathers. England, free England, by the Assiento treaty, used to supply the Spanish colonies with *Negroes*, but has of late, in some degree, vindicated the character of her constitution. And YE, who have so nobly asserted the rights and true value of man on the coasts of America, YE, whose thirteen or sixteen *Stars* will sow the Western hemisphere with similar constellations, YE, who tra-

verse the breadth of your great continent to California, who are shortly to unite the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and thus realize the original ideas of Columbus, by finding the East *through the West*;—What? YE, who have thus exalted human nature, will ye degrade yourselves, and debase it, by legalizing a single *Slave*? OUT, OUT, VILE SPOT!

With this single exception, the United States stand on high ground of national character. It is, in truth, a spectacle singularly gratifying for those who remember the proclamation of Burgoyne, or the blockade of Boston, to contemplate this government, seated on the table-land of Independence, while the Belligerents are, both of them, respecting her armed neutrality; and while one of them is, in fact, at this instant, professing a desire of her mediation; and thus to negotiate, circuitously, with France. We contemplated this very mediation as a possible and most desirable occurrence. in January, 1809, but we little imagined that one of the present ministry would propose such a medium of intercourse with the enemy.

The measures of ministry are changing, while the men remain; and consideration and conciliation are now the order of the day in the cabinet. The cries of nature have, in fact, astounded the hardest men of office; and the commercial distress, but principally, the miseries of the lower orders; (for the *higher* class of merchants would, to the last, have clung to the politico-commercial policy of Mr. Stephens and Mr. Rose;) the misery of the manufacturing interests have caused the administration to *give in*. The peace of the country, imperatively, required it. The sympathies of the House are at length awakened, and in repeated "hear him," it expressed its commiseration with the

detail of unparalleled distress, affecting whole districts. With a falling off in the American trade of 13 millions; in that of France and the North of Europe, of 6 millions; with a general deficit of 38 millions; with a South-American trade at 50 per cent. loss; with the trade to the continent, through American shipping, closed up; with a home trade, suffering not more by the want of vent, than by the general struggle to sell at any price and the general inability or unwillingness to purchase; with a loan to be raised of 22 millions and a half; with 52 millions, in this one year, added of capital stock to the public debt; with a peninsula costing us 20 millions per annum, and likely, on the more extended scale of war, to cost as much more, with equal probability of success; in short, with India borrowing millions; Ireland borrowing millions; (the interest on her debt exceeding her revenue) and American corn feeding our troops, at the rate of two millions yearly. It is at such a time, ministers may or may not be changed, but measures *must be changed*.

They are changed accordingly. The Orders in Council are revoked, on a day to be named, (allowing time for such intended revocation to reach the United States,) on the conditions, that the American government should admit British ships of war, and merchant vessels into their ports, on the same terms as those of other Belligerents; and repeal all their restrictive acts upon our commercial intercourse.

We have been anticipated by France, in this act or profession of amity; and, on that account, are not likely to be placed on the footing of the most favoured nation. We must not expect all this celerity of reconciliation on the part of A-

merica. She will take advantage of opportunity, and settle what remains to be settled; the system of blockade; the impressment of her seamen; the review and formal recognition of neutral rights; the ascertainment of the neutral claim of free ships making free trade, in opposition to the maritime power claimed by Great Britain. All these matters are to be fixed by treaty, and probably are ratified already by a commercial treaty with France not yet published. Do we imagine that France will again receive, or suffer the continent to receive British goods under a revival of the carrying trade of America? America has, probably, made choice of her commercial relations, and wishes to proceed in the encouragement of her own manufactures. We are in a dilemma of fears. We fear the rivalry of the continent by the repeal of the Orders of Council, and by their continuance, we force on the manufactures of America; we raise, by paper circulation, the price of all domestic labour, so as to be undersold on the continent; and by ill usage to Ireland; by consequent emigration; and by Orders in Council, we set 40 000 looms a going in New-York, and 76 cotton manufactories in Rhode-Island, where there were not four, half-a-dozen years ago. In this manner, we improve the continents of Europe and America, and carry on the war against our own Islands. We instigate Napoleon to make conquests, and Madison to meditate them. Our debts, our taxes, our loans, and, above all, our paper circulation, become indirect premiums to the manufacturing industry of both continents; and with this political-commercial system, our statesmen turning traders, and our traders, politicians, we have lost the market of the world, and gained the *field of battle*.

Individuals intrigue. The public weal suffers. With melancholy regret, it views the most honourable men maltreating *themselves*, and in order to manifest their zeal of personal service, mutilating their own character, just as we read of the miserable superstition which prompts persons, in the East, to exhibit themselves before the eyes of the public, cutting and slashing their own bodies, in order to prove their devotion to a wooden idol. Amidst this anarchy of the cabinet and confusion of the country, we congratulate our own country on its calm deportment; and the Catholics, more especially, on the unity and consistency of their conduct, undismayed by disappointment; unmoved by adventitious obstacles, listening to the frank and fervid eloquence of O'Connell, ("chez un peuple libre, tout est franc, meme la haine") and proceeding in that plain, downright manner, which, we can assure them, puzzles exceedingly the little minds of little Jurists. **PROCEED**, "faustis ominibus," and when you attain to your particular object; to the height of your present wishes, rest not there. Look up. There is still a height to ascend before you arrive to the summit. Remember *Protestant* emancipation. Remember the just and adequate representation of the **WHOLE** people. Liberate the sovereignty, restricted as it has been by borough-monger usurpation. Vindicate the justice of the good old British constitution. Thus alone can you discharge the national debt of gratitude. Thus alone complete your duty, not only to yourselves, but to your country, to yourselves, and to your posterity.

We have just seen the resolution carried in the House, (on the 22d,) that it will take into consideration, early next session, the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, with a view to final and conciliatory adjustment.

In the wonderful works of time, (that great innovator,) Canning and Castlereagh are running a race of popularity, and for fear of "letting the question loose among the people," the House of Commons have resolved by a majority of 129 to do, what in fact, some weeks ago, they had resolved not to do by a still greater majority.

Lord Castlereagh and W. Wellesley Pole voted for the question, such is the suppleness of courtiers, the one wishing to retain his place, and the other to come in again with his brother the Marquis. But this is the time for apparent concessions. The Catholic question, the Orders in Council, Colonel McMahon's salary, and the Barrack system at Mary-le-bone, Liverpool and Bristol are all conceded, but some of them so disingenuously coupled with conditions, as to leave room for future evasions, and to render an escape easy, if circumstances should labour. These manoeuvres discover the pusillanimity, not the magnanimity of concession, and confirm the character for lubricity and a facility for trick and stratagem, which have marked the conduct of strugglers for power. On the subject of the Catholic claims, there is great diversity in the views of many in parliament calling for conditions, contrasted with the spirited resolutions of the Aggregate Catholic Meeting in Dublin, which may be seen at the close of this article, in which all conditions as to granting a veto are rejected. Emancipation to be effectual by healing old animosities and restoring Catholics not only to their just rights but to a re-establishment in rank and estimation in the community ought in our estimation to be free and unconditioned, so as to leave no room for future cavil. Let concessions be liberal and dignified, for otherwise in the very act of granting a foundation would be laid for future uneasiness.

The petition from Chorley, in Lancashire, laying open the causes of the bad trade, and of the depression of the people, the evils of pensions, sinecures, and the various manifestations of corruption, is well deserving of attention. It is placed first among the Documents.*

In the late instance of Daniel Isaac Eaton standing in the pillory in London, as a part of his sentence, for republishing Thomas Paine's third part of the Age of Reason, the people, by their conduct, instead of treating with contumely, applauding the sufferer, give their testimony in favour of the rights of free discussion, and afford a hint to the law officers, that they have not the sympathy of the people, in their attempts to shackle the press. If error is propagated through the me-

dium of the press, let it be answered only by reason. A good cause stands in no need of the support of violence to coerce opinions. Truth can always be supported on the principles of sound reasoning, without the interference of the vengeance of the law. Error, on the contrary, more frequently calls in the aid of force to prop the tottering system.

At the close of this month's labours, let us now take a serious and solemn view of the passing events of *this new era*. It cannot be consolatory. Profligacy, with open and unblushing front stands conspicuously in the highest stations in the British court, scarcely to be paralleled, except in the conduct of the princes of the unfortunate house of Bourbon. A system of favouritism is added, grounded on this profligacy, alike destructive of public and private virtue. Ministers scramble for places and by dark intrigues defeat plans for beneficial changes. The prerogative ministry appear the only fit instruments for the present system of court politics. The Earl of Moira, a dupe to his chivalrous and romantic sense of honour and loyalty, lends himself to the imposture, and at length submits to receive his wages in the blue-ribbon. The fallen self-degraded Sheridan, ashamed of himself, and of his connection with the minions of a court, even in his fall, is confused and abashed, and blunders through his attempted explanation. It is almost always the fate of splendid talents, when not supported by the firmness, and even rigidity of principle, to sink into disgrace. The flashes of wit and eloquence may for a time dazzle, and Sheridan, from the partiality of his countrymen, may have received more praise, with many in this country, than he ever earned; but still virtue only can confer the honourable distinction of keeping consis-

* Connected with this subject, the defalcation of British finance, as discovered in the following account of the produce of the property-tax, affords no flattering prospect.

Finance.—The following official account has been laid upon the table, and printed, pursuant to an order of the House of Commons.

An Account of the Amount of the Property-Tax, for the years ending the 5th April, 1810, 1811, and 1812.

PAYMENTS INTO THE EXCHEQUER.

	£.	s.	d.
For the year ending April 5, 1810....	11,533,871	19	3½
For the year ending April 5, 1811....	11,322,454	12	6
For the year ending April 5, 1812....	5,231,936	6	6†

William Lowndes,
Barne Barne,
Gabriel Tucker Steward.

Office for Taxes, April 21, 1812.

† This sum has been subsequently stated to be only the sum as yet collected: but it is apprehended, that when the whole amount of the arrears are brought to account, a great deficiency will still exist.

508 *Signatures obtained to the Protestant Petition.* [June.

tently in the right, to the close. The splendid meteor is forgotten, or only remembered "to point a moral, or adorn a tale."

Lords Grey and Grenville come off with honour in the late negociation, notwithstanding the attempts of hireling writers to brand them with a desire to rule supreme; for had they accepted power, without a command of the household, such is at present the force of the unconstitutional system of patronage and corruption, they would soon have found, in the language of the late Earl of Chatham, "the ground hollow under them," and that they would have been mere puppets in the hands of the interior cabinet, either to submit or resign, if they became refractory in attempting to carry into effect the pledges, they had so often given to the public for their future conduct. They appear for once to have been frightened into patriotism, and as so much has been said against all political parties being equally corrupt, to have been ashamed to permit the assertion to be strengthened in the present instance by their example. We are almost tempted to overlook the share which Lord Gren-

ville took with his "relation, the great statesman now no more," in smothering the sacred flame of liberty; and to forgive Earl Grey for his aristocratical hauteur, and his apostacy from the cause of Parliamentary reform. In their late honourable stand they are rather deserving of credit for the exertion of virtuous principle, and encourage a hope, that they will go on in the way to amend.

Probably great benefits would not have accrued from the change; but in our present desperate state, it would have given a little hope to see it tried. Yet in the breaking off of the negociation, there is no cause for surprise. Whoever has closely viewed the proceedings of the times, may have seen cause to dread, that in every change, the worst may be expected; and that under existing circumstances, vice and folly may be expected to prevail over plain and honourable dealing. The odds are always in favour of the worst taking place. Under such discouraging prospects, to use the words of Swift for his own epitaph, "A SEVERE INDIGNATION LACERATES THE HEART."

SIGNATURES OBTAINED TO THE PETITION OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FAVOUR OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

At Hillsborough.

Marquis of Downshire	Geo. Stephenson	Robt. McClure, Presbyterian
E. S. Ruthven	Robt. J. Fowler, Linen-In-	Minister, Annahilt
Pat. O'Hanlon, J.P., Newry	spector, Carinbane	William Nash, Hillsborough.

*In the County of Monaghan.**

Richard Dawson, Dawson-Grove	John M'Morran, M.D. Monaghan	W. Williams, do.
H. Evatt, J.P. Co. Monaghan	Richard Mitchell, do.	J. Johnston, do.
Ralph Dawson, J.P. County Monaghan	Forster Mitchell, do.	Robt. Thomson, Tullaghan
	Francis Fleming, do.	John Forbes, Shantinel
Thomas Coote, Ballinderry	William Mayne, J.P. County Monaghan	Robert Robinson, Farm-hill
Thomas Cotnam		Hugh Jackson, J.P., Crieve
		S. Hamilton Rowan, do.

* Had the Petition remained longer, many others would have added their Signatures.